# REFLECTIONS
UPON SOME
# PASSAGES
IN
# Mr. *LE CLERC*'s LIFE
OF
# Mr. JOHN LOCKE:
## In a LETTER to a FRIEND.
WITH A
# PREFACE,
Containing some
# REMARKS
ON

Two large Volumes of LIBELS; the one intituled STATE-TRACTS, and the other falsely call'd THE COMPLEAT HISTORY OF ENGLAND, Vol. III. commonly ascrib'd to Dr. KENNET.

*LONDON:*
Printed for *J. Morphew*, near *Stationers-Hall.* 1711.

Lit. hist v. 10.

# THE PREFACE.

UPon Peruſal of Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Life of Mr. *Locke*, I was doubly ſurprized, Firſt, that a Foreigner, as Mr. *Le Clerc* is, ſhould cant in the bugbear Words *Popery*, *Tyranny*, and *Arbitrary Power*, as naturally as if he had been a true born *Engliſh* Whig, and educated in the School of a *Noble Peer*; and then that a Man of Learning, as he would be thought, a profeſs'd Critick, and a Maſter of the *Belles Lettres*, ſhould tread in the dirty Steps of a ſhameleſs Faction, and gravely advance pretended State-Diſcoveries, in the old Hackney Terms of the Party. One would think he knew better how to imploy his Time, than in reading *Engliſh* Libels, eſpecially in the Reign of King *Charles* the 2^d^, when their Malice and Madneſs were at the higheſt; therefore it is reaſonable to ſuſpect ſome later Temptations have determin'd his Studies to that ſort of Learning, which muſt have the Advantage of coming forth in a time, when he might think Affairs in *England* not below his Notice, if not the Object of his eſpecial Regard.

That which ſeems to me to have been the chief Occaſion of this (bating ſome accidental Converſation with *Engliſh* Fugitives in *Holland*) is a Voluminous Work not long ſince publiſhed, the two Parts of which are a *Corpus* of Whiggiſm: The firſt is a ſort of *Code*, and the other *Inſtitutions*; but Hiſtorically dreſs'd, and both artfully adapted to eaſe ſuch willing Students, whoſe Nature is averſe to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and Monarchy of *England:* And when I have ſhewn the Deſign, and ſomewhat of the Contents of theſe high *Noſtrums* of Faction, it will not be wonder'd at, that a learned Man's Style and choice of Words ſhould be corrupted by the very peruſal of them; eſpecially when the Subject-matter takes with the Fancy; for that has a natural Influence upon the Terms in which the Matter is expreſſed.

The firſt of theſe Folio's, which I call the Whiggiſh Code, was printed in 1693, and is intitled (I ſuppoſe by way of Jeſt) *State-*

*Tracts*; being a Collection of all the vile Pamphlets that were ſent abroad in Print, for the Purpoſes of a Party, who were continually buſy in the great Work of overturning Church and State: What mighty Springs actuated a Machine of that Rage and Impetuoſity, we may have leave to think, but not yet to write; it is enough to ſay with Aſſurance thus much, that theſe Inſtruments of theirs, the *State-Tracts* but) *Libels* were framed with Art enough, but out of no better Materials than mere Lyes, by which they ſought to make the People believe all the Evil that they could invent or ſuggeſt againſt the King, his Miniſtry, Officers, and all his good Subjects, as a Confederacy to deſtroy the Proteſtants and Proteſtant Religion, to ſet up Popery, and, with the help of the *French*, to eſtabliſh Arbitrary Government in *England*. This was the Cant and Charm of all theſe Time-ſerving Pieces, which were ſent abroad as Incendiaries into all the Parts of the Kingdom, in order, if poſſible, to ſet the whole on Fire. But as Emiſſaries in War are uſually taken up, and hanged, ſo theſe Paper-Miſſionaries were not ſuffer'd to paſs without due Animadverſion: For at their coming out, they were throughly examin'd and anſwer'd, and ſubſtantially expos'd in Print: And that part, as it fell out, was ſo well perform'd, that the Libellers were wrote out of the Field: and the Spirit of Lying, thus rebuked, grew languid and faint, and withdrew for a while into the bottomleſs Pit, from whence it had been ſent: By which it was apparent, that by the Force and Suddenneſs of theſe Anſwers (for ſome of them even anticipated the Malice of the Party) a Reformation was made, and ſuch a ſtop put to their Libels, as no Inquiſition nor Proſecution had been able to effect.

I cannot but obſerve, how much more Induſtry there is in theſe Phariſaical Troublers of the World, than in the more modeſt and peaceable ſort of Men, in oppoſing each other, and advancing their ſo very different Deſigns. For here we ſee on the one ſide, after all uſe of theſe Libels was ceas'd, and no farther concern for them left, but the mere Reputation of a Party, and countenance left of any Concern in them; yet an ample Collection is made of them all in one intire Volume, deſigned to be a Foundation for future Hiſtories; whereas on the other ſide, tho' there are not any of thoſe Libels unanſwered, yet we have made no Code or Collection of the Anſwers; theſe lie ſcatter'd neglected and loſt, while the others are tranſmitted to future Ages in two great Folio's; which I think very unhappy, and a very unjuſt Abuſe and Impoſition upon Poſterity; who if they are, as uſually, appealed to for the Deciſion of popular Diſputes, and factious Pretences, it is fit and reaſonable they ſhould fairly hear both ſides; and a Writer of but *moderate* Honeſty repreſenting the one, would have alſo thought himſelf oblig'd in Honour and Conſcience to produce the other; but that had defea-

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ted the Design which was neither moderate nor honest, *viz.* to blind the Eyes of Posterity, and impose Lyes for Truth, make black be called white, evil good, and render it almost impossible to make a true Judgment in Matters of publick Concern.

This being the Case as to this Collection of Libels in Folio, my End in representing it so far as I have done, is to stir up some generous Undertaker, to make a Collection of such Answers, as may now be most proper to be made publick, and to publish them in like Form, whereby future Ages may have the Antidote, as they have the Poison conveyed down to them: How else is it possible, but that such perverse, malicious, and false Accounts of publick Persons and Proceedings in *England*, so artfully couched, should deceive those, who have no means of being better informed? And it is so much worse, as we find by Experience, that the rankest Libels in their time, by degrees become *Secret History* (forsooth) and by succeeding Generations are valued as great Curiosities, and Discoveries of concealed Truth, till at length they gain the honourable Title of *Anecdotes*, turning the Verities of former Times into worse than Fable or Romance, that is into false and scandalous Libel and Invective. Of this Examples are not wanting, either of ancient or latter Date, which are too well known to be produc'd here in particular. I have taken notice of this unequal way of Proceeding only to shew what need there is of such a good Work as I now would here recommend. I am confident all sincere Persons and Lovers of Truth, if not in a Capacity to undertake, yet would readily further and encourage it (in case it were once known, that any Person had declared a Purpose to do it) by furnishing Catalogues, and the Pamphlets themselves, many of which are now become as rare as MSS. and this would render such a Design more practicable. But if those Disadvantages that are ordinarily attendant upon Truth and upright Intentions, shall so far discourage this Work, as that none will venture to undertake it; then once for all, I must declare, that *Testimonium Rei* shall serve instead of it, to confute all that bundle of Abuse, and the rest of the same sort, if any more of it shall ever hereafter appear to defile the Memory of good King *Charles* the 2^d's Reign: For it is most notorious, that after all those small and great Shot, poisoned, cross-barr'd, and every way malignant, made at him, he lived to overcome all; and for some Years before his Death, possess'd a Security in his Government, upon the general, I might say universal Declarations of his People, of their intire Satisfaction in his Goodness and Justice, so firm and establish'd as none of his Predecessors ever had; and that may serve (were there no other explicit Authority derived to Posterity) to confront all the affected Lyes and Stratagems of Words publish'd to the contrary. It will not suffice to alledge in Answer, that po-

pular Affections are unaccountable, and will go from one Extreme to another, againſt Senſe, and their own Preſervation. I grant that upon change of Governments, the Populace ſhall run after Novelty in a Dream of Bliſs, to purchaſe in truth their own Confuſion, and all the while cry, —— *Viva la mia morte.* But under the ſame Government, after being once factiouſly incenſed againſt the Perſons and Miniſtrations of their —— Governours, as they are generally but too much of themſelves inclined, they never return to a State of intire Submiſſion and Satisfaction, without the groſſeſt Diſcovery and Demonſtration of their Happineſs and Security thereby; and that was the caſe in the latter Years of King *Charles* the 2^d's Reign.

So much for the Code, now for the Whiggiſh Inſtitutions compiled by way of *Hiſtory*, miſ-tituled *Compleat*, being a 3^d Volume, which the Liberality of common Fame (for the Author hides his Face) has beſtowed upon Dr. *Kennet*. I muſt own it is tedious to foul Paper with writing any thing concerning it; but my deſigned Sollicitations to procure ſome Corrections of it to be as ſoon as may be printed for the Publick Good, conſtrain me to it; for otherwiſe they muſt needs languiſh and want force. I ſhall therefore make no difficulty to declare my Opinion of the Contents, and of what ſeems to be the Deſign of it.

Firſt, I think a curſory Peruſal is ſufficient to make one believe, either that it was contrived on purpoſe to confute its own Title-Page, or that the Author was aſleep when he wrote it: For how elſe could he miſtake ſo abominably, as to call it *Hiſtory* inſtead of *Libel*, and *Compleat* inſtead of *Scandalous*? If he had nam'd it any thing but *Hiſtory*, he had come off better; for of all ſorts of Writing, that of Hiſtory (well underſtood) hath the leaſt ſhare in this Work. I fixed my Attention chiefly upon K. *Charles* the 2d's Reign, and of that moſt carefully upon the latter Years; becauſe then the Government had been much ruffled and embroil'd by an active and irreconcileable Faction, which produced many ſurprizing Events and Turns in the Publick, all, as in a Tragi-Comedy, after much ſtruggling and confuſion, ending in publick Repoſe and Settlement. Theſe Times are not yet worn out of our Memories, aud a good Account of them may be retrieved; but if ſuch as were then living may judge, it hath not yet appear'd: It is certain a judicious and true Hiſtory of Civil Turns of State, the Attempts and Diſappointments of Factions, the good and bad Conſequences that attend the reaſonable and the miſtaken Politicks of Governours, and of the Governed, more than the moſt celebrated Conduct and Succeſſes of War, are proper here in *England* to inſtruct thoſe that are honeſt, and deſire to be wiſe; and on the other ſide partial and falſe Relations of former Times, calculated wholly to procure Favour and Reputation to a reſtleſs undermining Party, are like an intoxicating Potion to Poſterity, the

Effect

Effect of which is to make them court their own Confusion, and rejoice in it.

And such a Piece have we here in this Volume, that calls it self a *Compleat History*. To go no farther than the Reign I mentioned, it is plain that the whole Contrivance is to form and model the Matters of Fact, by paring away, adding, concealing, varnishing, and colouring of them, like Painters, or rather like Romancers, so as to make the Person of that Prince, and his Government appear to all Posterity, black, odious, and deformed. For first, as to his Person, on every occasion which the Author can take, his Majesty is represented to be of no Religion at all, but yet a Papist, an egregious Tyrant, a profess'd Voluptuary, Hypocrite, Coward, and what not that is ill! Then as to his Government, his whole Reign is made a Series of Court-Tricks, to introduce and settle Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power. When the pretended Historian observes any thing done which is capable of an ill Sense, he makes that to flow naturally from the King; but if it hath an Air of Grace and Favour to his Subjects, then he is upon the Tenters, to invent and apply Misconstructions; and he is sure to lash every gracious Passage in his Majesty's Reign with some malevolent Reflection; as —— *that He might seem,* (which implies rank Hypocrisy) —— *Being forc'd* (So no Thanks to him.) —— *He could do no less than*, &c. (that is, it was much against his Will, but he could not help it) and divers other like Turns of his Pen. Yet these are but Insinuations, and a lighter sort of Censure, which leaves some Latitude to a willing Reader to hope a little better; but he has other Reflections scandalous in the highest degree, that do not trust the Reader with the least Power of Construction; as when the King had raised an Army by Act of Parliament, for Service against the *French*, in which was not, nor could be, one Papist in Command, *It was a Popish Army kept on foot to introduce the Roman Religion, and enslave the Nation.* When it was graciously disbanded pursuant to an Act of Parliament, *the King yielded, only to have the fingering of a little Money.* Nay when the King, as he had declared to the Parliament, made the Law the Rule of his Government, and used no other Process against his Traiterous Enemies, the very Judgments of the Law are called *Arbitrary*, and represented as so many *Acts of Tyranny*, and the Executions of them no other than *Martyrdoms* for the Protestant Religion and Property. All the King's Ministers in Law matters, and the Evidences, were but so many *Suborners* and *Suborned*, and their Testimony all Perjury. Nay, the Scandal of the Age, the truly perjur'd Denyers of Common Justice to the Crown, I mean the IGNORAMUS-MEN, are brought off with Honour, and a famous Lawyer quoted for it. The King is charged with breaking the Laws, when he favoured Dissenters, and with Cruelty against his own Conscience, when he was severe

ſevere in letting Papiſts ſuffer under the Law, at the Inſtance of his Parliament. He blaſphemes even the King's Royal Goodneſs and Humanity, or rather Charity to the poor Proteſtant Refugees from *France*, as a thing done only *to ſeem*, &c.

As for the Miniſtry, who were loyal, and did not betray their Maſter, they were *a pack of mercenary Confederates, and acted by Popiſh Meaſures, to introduce and ſett'e Slavery*; whilſt on the other ſide the Heads of a reſtleſs impetuous Faction, ever conſpiring and acting againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Church, and Legal Government, were *Zealots for the Proteſtant Religion, and ſtrenuous Aſſertors of the Peoples Rights.* Nay a ſelect Scum of the Rabble ever at hand, and primed for all manner of Miſchief, as they were prompted or inſpired by theſe *Demagogues*, were THE PEOPLE, forſooth; and their unſufferable Tumults and Outrages, were nothing but *Proteſtant Boys-play.* All ſorts of Diſſenters, Republicans, Mob-drivers, Libellers, Traytors, and every thing that oppoſed the State, come off with egregious marks of his Favour; but the loyal Party are moderately dealt with, if they are only repreſented as *ſtark Fools and blind:* For the moſt forward and active of them are ſet forth as *Betrayers*, and *Confederates, Abhorrers, Miſcreants, and Slaves to Prerogative*, I know not what. One may obſerve a Track of Subtilty in the Conduct of this great Work, with which the Author no doubt was inwardly ſatisfied, as if his Head were in a Buſh. When he has a mind to vent a damnable Falſity, or to caſt an odious Slander, whether upon the King himſelf, or upon any of his Friends, or upon the loyal Party in general, he has a Screen to lie behind, while he ſhoots; and then diſcharges with —— *as ſome ſay,* —— *It was credibly reported* —— *thoſe who knew beſt believed*, and the like: So you cannot accuſe him, he is as WHITE as Milk; and his Quotations, with which he trades much *in hæc Verba*, are of the ſame Vertue; for he chuſeth the rankeſt of the factious Libels, and then, with an Hiſtorical Air, tells us *he finds in a late Author* —— after which his *Excerpta* come forwards, ſuch as may be ſure to ſerve his turn; the reſt, if not to his purpoſe, is left out; and ſo he ſerves divers publick Acts. He ſeldom names his *late Authors*, and never takes notice of any Anſwers to them, tho' written with never ſo much Force and Clearneſs, which is a great wrong; for if *Lateneſs* have ſuch Authority, thoſe were commonly the latter of the two; but how can any one at this rate judge of his Authorities? or well-meaning Readers that are not learned in Libellous Controverſy, avoid being deluded? In a word, what with ſuppreſſing, miſconſtruing, preſuming, inſinuating, partializing, and downright falſifying on the one ſide, to ſcandalize the King and the Loyaliſts; and inlarging, applauding, ſuggeſting, inventing, palliating, haranguing, flattering, and

and bewailing on the other, to make the oppoſite Faction appear illuſtrious Saints or Hero's, he hath formed ſuch a Gallimaufry Monſter of a *Compleat Hiſtory*, as I believe was ſcarce ever ſeen in Print before; and even his Predeceſſor *Tom Fuller* was a very *Thucydides* or *Livy* to him.

It might be expected that I ſhould have been ſo careful to cite his Pages, and uſe not a word, but what is taken out of his Text. My Deſign is of another Nature: yet I gueſs the citing his Book all at once is ſufficient; for I cannot imagine any knowing Perſon can read the Places which I here reflect on, and have other Sentiments than I have repreſented: and if all Perſons were ſuch, and ſo near the time as we are, we might let him paſs. But it is to be conſidered, that there is a great variety of Readers; ſome are ſupine, and take all they find for granted, and come intirely into the Intereſts and Sentiments of their Author; and many have no means to enable them to make a different Judgment. Abundance by Party and Prejudice are inclin'd, as the Author would have them, to believe the worſt; ſome love Slander and Detraction by natural Propenſity; and not a few on the other part are ſo innocent and well meaning, as not to think it poſſible ſo much Falſification ſhould be in Print; and all theſe unhappy Circumſtances increaſing by time, produce that Effect which I touched upon before, *viz.* that the rankeſt Libels commence *Hiſtory*, with the addition of *Secret*, or the deceitful Title of *Anecdotes*. And this Book, being an elaborate Extract of Libel, and maliciouſly tacked to a ſolemn Compoſition, ſuch as it is, of a pretended *Engliſh* Hiſtory; (for it is the laſt of three Volumes, of which the two former are a Collection of certain *Engliſh* Chroniclers in a Series down to the Union in King *Jac.* 1. where the Libel ſets out) Ordinary Readers are led to it, as to a Trap, and can ſcarce eſcape it; ſo that all Circumſtances conſidered, there never was a Project of cajoling future Times into falſe Notions of their Intereſt and Duty, under the Eſtabliſh'd and Legal Form of *Engliſh* Government, more ſubtilly contrived and executed, than this Folio of *Hiſtorical Perverſeneſs* is.

Now it remains to ſhew the Deſign and Aim of all this my Obſervation; and that is purely and ſincerely to engage, if poſſible, ſome Perſon capable and qualify'd for ſuch a Work, to undertake, if not a juſt Hiſtory of the late Reigns, or at leaſt that of good King *Charles* the 2^d^, as were to be wiſhed, yet a Correction of this malevolent Writer, by way of Antidote to his Malice, and in Charity to Poſterity: For either of theſe juſtly performed might prevent the bad Effects ſuch a miſchievous Collection as this may have upon the publick Welfare and Peace, which is bound up in the Peoples good Opinion of, and Conformity to the ancient Legal Form of Monarchical Go-

vernment in *England* here in this Book ſo foully miſrepreſented. I here ſpeak as a Lay-man; as for the Clergy, I think it is their Duty, to ſhew the fallacious Diſguiſes which are put upon the Face of Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, to create in the People an ill Opinion of the Liturgy, Epiſcopacy, and Diſcipline of the *Engliſh* Church; and to do it with ſuch Solemnity and Force, as ſhall leave nothing behind unexpoſed. This I am willing to hope will appear, and that ſoon; for among ſo many great Undertakings and Performances of that Reverend Body, to the Confuſion of all ſorts of Adverſaries, why ſhould this one, and no mean one, be neglected? But I have more cauſe to apprehend a Defect in the ſecular part of this deſired Hiſtory, which can ſcarce be throughly well performed by a Clergy-man but in the way of Subſerviency. Not becauſe I think that Age I have here pointed at, ſo exceeding happy, as to have bred none but of the Order of Inſenſibles, that regarded nothing, remember'd nothing; and ſo careleſs, as if writing and reading had been a contraband Entertainment of Time; for I am very ſure, that there yet remain Perſons now alive, in all reſpects qualified to do what I plead for. But we having had yet in publick but very little or no Fruit of their Abilities, I fear they may warp towards the Province of Eaſe and Security, and ſay, *Qui bene latuit bene vixit*. What is the conſpicuous difference between Men and Brutes, but that the former have Sympathy, Charity, and Publick Spirit, the other are all naturally ſelfiſh, and void of mutual Benevolence? Then it may be, they are ſhy of ſeeming to write for a Party: For to ſay the Truth, Plain-dealing it ſelf may with a great many prejudiced Perſons have that appearance. Now that is it I would have, an able judicious Pen, fearleſs of Cenſure, and zealous for that Party (if I may ſo ſtile it) that adheres to the National Eſtabliſhment in Church and State. If any Man can find a Medium between Truth and Falſhood, Right and Wrong, Honeſty and Knavery, let the Pretenders to Moderation take that Party. The Primitive way was, to defie the Workers of Iniquity, and never to encourage them by mincing Matters. As to what is commonly ſaid, that Hiſtory ſhould give bare Facts, and leave Cenſure and Judgment to the Reader, I utterly differ from it; for all Hiſtory ſhould judge, but that righteouſly, and alſo favour, but that only which is juſt and good. If it is for Inſtruction, why are all Documents to be left out? One asks the way, and is anſwered, that he muſt go forwards: This is a very ſorry Direction, unleſs the Hand is held up to point where the way lies. The Fault is in the Abuſe, when Authors diſguiſe Facts to ſerve falſe Ends, clip and counterfeit Paſſages and Tranſactions, to cheat the Publick out of their Settlement, and ſide with new Modellers, in order to let the Wolves in to make havock among the Sheep. It is the Cuſtom for

wicked Combinations, to accuſe honeſt Men for being of a Party, that is for joining together to ſave themſelves; and if they can ſo wheedle Men of good meaning once to divide, the work is done. It is not to be heeded what ſuch Parties object: I ſay Parties; for Truth and right Reaſon ought never to have that Title: Sure *Philip de Comines* may be a Pattern, who every where adds Reaſons and Obſervations to Truth, and for that is accounted the beſt Hiſtorian of all the Moderns. We have all this for Reaſon to hope, theſe trivial Diſcouragements will not diſcourage the Endeavours of ſuch as have Ability and Means to do right in Publick to thoſe former Reigns, in oppoſition not only to this Time-ſerving Author, but to the whole Band of factious Enemies of our Church and Monarchy; the rather becauſe it is apparent, that however Papiſts, Atheiſts, Deiſts, Latitudinarians, Sectaries, Whigs or Republicans may differ one with another, yet they all unite lovingly in Miſrepreſentations of Perſons and Things, to vilify the Authority of thoſe Sacred Eſtabliſhments. And at every turn they all make uſe of the ſame various Methods of impoſing, by Falſities, falſe Turns, Miſrepreſentations, Mutilations, Concealments, groſs Partialities, and Flatteries, which we find very thick ſtrawed throughout the ſcandalous Book before us, all together in full conſort, as one Party, united to oppoſe what, I truſt, all their Paper-Artillery ſhall be too weak to batter, or even the Gates of Hell to prevail againſt it.

I have of late watched the Prints as they have come out, and fell in my way, to obſerve, whether I might flatter my Hopes with the dawning of ſome Hiſtorical Sun-riſing upon the Times, over which this Author hath endeavoured to draw ſo many black Clouds. And there is only one that affords any ſuch Hopes, and that is the *Caveat againſt the Whigs*. I cannot forbear calling upon the Author of that excellent little Piece, to give us a larger Book, to which that may ſerve as a proper Introduction. He has given ſuch a Profile of King *Charles* the 2^d's Reign, as demonſtrates him capable to work up the Figure in full proportion. The truth is, there lies before him no ſmall heap of Rubbiſh, *viz.* lying Pamphlets, Libels, and pretended Hiſtories to remove, as a Statuary firſt ſcrapes off the Dirt from his Piece, before he goes to work; therefore it is neceſſary, in order to a good true Hiſtory of thoſe Times, to make firſt an *Examen* of the falſe ones, which may be in a diſtinct Piece, as what (tho' abſolutely neceſſary to be done) will too much incumber the other. For when Lyes and Slanders are not only graffed upon the main Stock, but inoculated upon divers Branches of the Tree, it is a particular work to take each of them off. What a tranſcendent Benefaction would it be, if a Lover of his Country (by examining the Anſwers that have occaſionally come out, the publick Records, Journals, printed Trials, Council-books,

and private Memorials of his own, and of others, that would be willing to collate and verify them) would compass this great Work in two Parts; in the first, exposing the Lyes, by way of *Examen Historicum*; and in the second, giving us in order a true History of these former Reigns, with such a Freedom and Integrity, as becomes a true and impartial Historian.

I shall say nothing of the latter; but shall venture to shew a necessity of the other, that is the *Examen*, because the Abuses extend to private, as well as publick, and are of such Extent and Variety, that the Honour and Dishonour of divers private Persons, as well as the Majesty of the Royal Family, is concerned in them. To pass over the compleat Author's Character of King *Charles* the 2^d^, the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and many others of lesser Note (because the taking them to Task is answering his Book) I shall not part yet without giving one Instance, out of multitudes, of his wilful Falsity and Malice; and that shall be a Note, *obiter* as it were, of a Matter not in the Chain of his Relation, or which touched the State; but of regular Justice extant upon Record, obvious to every Search, and done in a publick Court, heard and noted by many Persons of Skill (among others) attending; which one would think were a Subject ill chosen to fasten a flat Lye upon; but his bias to slander a loyal Minister, against whom he had nothing else to object, carried him out of his Road, to take an occasion that was not given. It was the Case of the last Will of Mr. *Mayott* of *Oxford*, decreed in the High Court of *Chancery*, upon an Information of the Attorney-general to have a Charity rightly applied in *July* 1684. The Author, p. 428, says,

" About this time one *R. Mayott* of *Oxford*, a pious Conformist,
" who had devoted his Estate to charitable Uses, gave by his Will
" 600 *l.* to be distributed by Mr. *Baxter* to sixty poor ejected Mini-
" sters, adding that he did it not because they were Nonconformists,
" but because many were poor and pious; but Sir *Robert Sawyer* sued
" for it in *Chancery*, and the Lord Keeper *North* gave it all to the
" King.

So he. But as I find it by a Gentleman's private Report of the Case, it passed thus: Upon hearing of the Cause, and much arguing of Council on both sides, the chief Objections on the Defendant's part were, that Nonconformity was no Crime to make a Man uncapable of a Legacy; that it was not a perpetual Maintenance, but a transient Charity, that will not have continuance; that if this be void, the Executors will have it, and not the King; and lastly, that if the Persons had been named, it had been well, and why not, if named by another?

His Lordſhip thought,

That the Court is to direct the Execution of Charities, where any Perſon is truſted with the Diſtribution, as Mr. *Baxter* is here. If the ſixty Non Cons had been named, it had been good, being a perſonal Legacy; ſo if a total Reference had been to Mr. *Baxter*; but then the laſt might have controlled him, if he had gone about to give it all to rich Men. But the Gift is to encourage the thing, not only the 60, but 600 who will be in hopes to have it, and expect to be ſupported in their Nonconformity, who made a Profeſſion to pervert others. This Gift is ſo, as no Perſon in the World can claim it without Mr. *Baxter*'s good Will, nor can ſue for it; if any Suit, it muſt be in the Attorney-General's Name; and he ought not to ſue for ſuch Perſons, and ſuch Purpoſes. The Legacy to Mr. *Baxter* was not void; but the Truſt is void, as againſt the Eſtabliſh'd Government; and the Court will direct the Truſt according to the charitable Intent of the Teſtator. The Appointment of the King preceding the Suit, is but a Direction to Mr. Attorney to proceed thereon, and to demand it of the Court; but the Direction of the Court is judicial, yet ought to be as near the King's Pleaſure, as is conſiſtent with Juſtice; here the Appointment is for *Chelſea-College*, and the Teſtat is for Miniſters: therefore (ſays the Decree) let this go to maintain a Miniſter to pray and preach in *Chelſea-College*.

This the Author calls, giving all to the King: *Cujus contrarium verum eſt*, as the Decree it ſelf if drawn up, and if not, the Minutes will ſhew; but the Author never diverted from his Walk through *Chancery-lane* to look upon either; for that might have ſpoiled a plauſible Slander; and that takes away all Pretence of Ignorance, which is his only Shuffle; for if he did not know, why did he meddle at all with what belonged to another Profeſſion, and not ſearch the obvious Regiſter, or conſult ſome that had Skill and Honeſty enough, to tell him the Truth? But here are apparent Marks of black Malice both to the Publick, and to the then Lord Keeper; as to the latter, he is not ſo civil as to call it an *Erroneous Decree*; which if it were ſo, the Houſe of Peers might on Appeal correct; but in his *Index*, he points to *an injuſt Decree of the Lord Keeper North*; and his Marginal Note is little better: The word *Injuſt* implies *Corruption*, and he ought to have given clear Proof of it; but that he leaves to ill Nature to ſupply. Then as to the Publick, he would have the Reader think, the Perſecution ran ſo high againſt the Diſſenters, that they could not have common Juſtice in *Weſtminſter-hall*; I ſhall add only, that the Decree was neither Erroneous, nor Injuſt; but is and will be a Precedent in like Caſes, whenever they ſhall happen.

This

This I think is what I promiſed by way of Encouragement to an *Examen* of this Author, a groſs Inſtance of impertinent, malicious, and falſe Scandal upon a Miniſter of Juſtice, and upon the Government in that Time; there is Plenty of others, that ought to be authoritatively rebuked; and I muſt ſtill feed my Hopes of ſo good a Work from the well qualified *Author of the Caveat*, or ſome other able Perſon, that has Leiſure and Opportunity, conſidering the Generoſity of ſo publick-ſpirited an Undertaking, which cannot fail of a general Acceptance, and of procuring Honour and Eſteem to the Author among all honeſt Men.

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REFLE-

# Reflections *upon ſome Paſſages in Mr.* Le Clerc's *Life of Mr.* John Locke.

Sir,

I Have procured Mr. *Le Clerc*'s *Life and Character of Mr. Locke*, the *Engliſh* Edit. 1706. and obſerving what he ſays of the E. of *S.* I have ſet down the following Notes, by which you may diſcern the Candor and Sincerity of the Author; firſt ſpeaking of the E. of *S.* Chancellor of *England*, he ſays,

P. 8. — *When his Lordſhip returned the Great Seal to the King.*

It is a Liberty peculiar to Libellers, to turn Truth into Lyes, by falſe Inſinuations; would not any one here think, the Earl was not turned out, but ſurrendered? Indeed it looks greater ſo, which was reaſon enough for a turn of Art in a Phraſe, which he thought would not be readily perceived. He ſays,

Ib. — *That Money from* France *was not ſufficient to carry on the War.*

This is Garniture, after the Uſage of the Pamphlets and Libels of that time: Their Rule of writing was to make the King odious; and for that End the Alliance with *France* was ever exaggerated as their chief Topick; and it is a wonder to obſerve, how much of that Learning is found in a Page or two of this Book, and with what ſpirited Malice it is put in.

Ib. *The King thought it neceſſary to try what the Parliament would raiſe him.*

It was not only an Experiment to be made, but the only Intent of the meeting was to raiſe Money for the *Dutch* War; for all Shifts were over, the Exchequer ſtopp'd, and *French* Money failing (as he ſays) nothing was left, but for the King to throw himſelf upon the Parliament for Supplies.

Ib. *For this purpoſe there was a Draught prepared in the King's Council, of the Speech which the Lord Chancellor was to make to the Parliament, to perſwade them to approve the War.*

It is not eaſy to make this and what follows, appear to be ſo very falſe, as I am apt to believe it is; for there is no living Authority to apply to; moſt if not all thoſe, that were near enough to know, are now

now dead; and common Fame, as alſo ſome written Authority, charges the Speech upon the Earl himſelf, without any ſuch tutoring in the Council; but what is all that to a bold Lye, pretended to be a Secret lately come forth, and vented to the World by an Author of this Man's Pretenſions. Painters diſcern Copies by a Diſcrepancy between the Deſign and the Performance; ſo here from the Subject-matter, and the ſetting it out, a Judgment may I think be made.

An *Engliſh* Workman ſhould have been called in to aſſiſt, to have here mended the formulary part, which is groſly miſtaken, and ſhews plainly the Romance of a Foreigner. For there never was ſuch a thing done, as a Draught of a Speech prepared in Council, or in the Cabinet (if we allow the Author to mean that) and it cannot well be done; for penning a Speech is a buſineſs of Privacy, where there is Freedom to invent, alter, think, and correct; and not for a Board, where all will be Correctors, and none Inventors; and where the croſſing, and thwarting one another in matter of Flight or Expreſſion, muſt diſturb all Compoſition of that kind, and render it impoſſible to be done in that manner. There may be indeed Heads, or Minutes of things proper to be inſiſted upon, prepared and ſet down in Council; but the Compoſition of a Speech never was ſo made. This, tho' but a Circumſtance, is yet ſufficient to ſhew the Story to be a Fiction; for Truth is uniform, and hath no ſuch Flaws.

But the Author's Deſign was (and that miſled him) to clear the Earl of the whole Matter, both of counſelling the War, and having to do with the Speech; for ſetting aſide the thing, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, the whole Tenor of it is to juſtify the War, and with ſuch a Spirit as ſhews it was *ex Animo*; and ſince the Author's Skill would clear him of all as well as part, why ſhould he cobble, but ſhew him to his *Amſterdammers* as clear as Cryſtal.

But yet an Infant, or rather an Ideot (if I may ſo ſay) in buſineſs of the *Engliſh* Court, muſt know, that never ſince the Office of Chancellor was heard of, was there ſuch an Affront put upon one in that high Poſt, as to prepare a Speech for him; and the thing is next to impoſſible. And the Author ſhews an Affection too ſtrong for Diſcretion, or elſe, that his Whig-Maſters here had ill inſtructed him; otherwiſe he could never have thus ſet forth the making, firſt a Chancellor, and then his Speech.

We will yet go nearer with him, and ſuppoſe what may be, and was reaſonable, tho' I believe in that caſe it did not happen; which is, that his Lordſhip, after he had prepared his Speech, laid it before his Majeſty in Council, that the whole might have his allowance; and then whatever the Event was, he could not be blamed. And ſo it is

not

not impoſſible but a word or two might be altered, or ſome Conceit inſerted; and if the Author had coined his Story right, he would have put it forth in this manner. But the leaſt Untruth in the manner, much more one ſo groſs as in this, taints the whole, and betrays the Falſity.

There is yet more to alledge againſt this Fable: It is not likely any one would pretend to criticize upon a Lord Chancellor's Speech: If his Lordſhip knows his Maſter's Aims, and applies to that, the Form and Figures are left wholly to him, who is ſuppoſed to be a Maſter Penman, and in that, and Eloquence ſuperior to the reſt. I can a little gueſs at this, becauſe there was once a Lord Keeper, who, as I have heard, intended (if he had been truſted to ſpeak after the King in Parliament) to have laid a Draught of his Speech before the King, and not have ſpoken one Word or Syllable, but what his Majeſty had been ſo made acquainted with and approved. But as Affairs then ſtood, it was ſuſpected he would have uſed ſome Expreſſions not altogether agreeable to the King's Mind; and for that reaſon it was thought more proper to divert his ſpeaking at all (as was done) than to trim his Speech for him; becauſe that would occaſion an invidious diſlike of his Expreſſions, and for Reaſons given, that perhaps would not be ſatisfactory to him; or elſe he might be put upon ſaying ſomewhat, that did not ſquare with his Judgment. The Author is not acquainted with theſe Decorums of a Court, nor how tender they are of the Countenance of ſo great a Man as the Chancellor is, who in Forms of Law and Speaking is uſually the Oracle of the Court: Elſe he would never have brought one to the Council, to take from them a Speech that he was to make in Parliament, and without allowing him to have a hand ſo much as in the Compoſure of it. This may be believed by thoſe that know no better.

Nor is this all; for the Story is the more egregious, the Scene being laid in a Court ſo ſupine in buſineſs as that was: the King was always glad of a forward Undertaker, for his Eaſe; and when he had ſettled that Point, the Care was over with him: And I have heard divers ſay, that in that Time the Court was ſo averſe to Buſineſs, that the Parliament was ſeldom thought of till it was at hand; and then, as I ſaid, forward Undertakers were the moſt grateful Counſellors; and how the Earl ſtood in that reſpect, I ſhall touch afterwards. The Author goes on.

P. 8. — *But this appearing too weak to the King and Council, as not preſſing the Matter home enough, they thought fit to alter it, and in ſpight of the Lord Chancellor's Advice, to inſert* —— Delenda eſt Carthago ——

This Tale hath a Plot-like or Narrative Reliſh, ſuch as comes from mean Fellows, talking of Kings, Councils, and State-Affairs. But I wonder why the Chancellor's Wit ſhould be ſuſpected, as that he could not make as quaint and urging a Speech, and with as many Flowers of Force, and particularly that of the *Delenda, &c.* as any other Perſon about the King; and who was there in Court at that time, that would have ſo far expoſed himſelf to the Fury of a Chancellor, as to pretend to put a Speech upon him? For there were not many, if any Secrets in that Court. It was well known, that the Chancellor was the Top wit amongſt them, and he was very liberal in the uſe of it; his *Copia* was that way; nor cared he tho' he let it fly, when Diſcretion ſaid no; and it muſt be a wonder, who could be found to make a Speech but him. The Men that ſerved in the Parts of the Law, as the Attorney-General, and Sollicitor, if there had been ſuch a monſtrous Attempt as to go from the Keeper to them, were both averſe to the Court Model at that time, and therefore not truſted: And the Treaſurer *Clifford*, and the reſt of the Cabinet were moſtly Men of Pleaſure, and Conceit, rather than Pretenders to Eloquence; ſo that it is not eaſy to find any other crafty Maſter of Speech-making to the purpoſe of that Time, but the Chancellor.

I cannot but obſerve the mean part here aſſigned to the Chancellor, as in theſe words.

*Againſt his Sentiments* ——
*Muſt pronounce* ——
*Obliged to get by heart* ——
*Much diſordered* ——
*Yet Preſence of Mind, and fluent* ——
*Mr.* Locke *behind prompting* ——

All of a Plebeian Invention, and ſo contrary to the State of Affairs and Perſons at that time, as renders the Story altogether incredible. It was well known that the Chancellor, inſtead of being backward, was then Cardinal in the Opinion of the Court. And he got to be made Chancellor purely by the Intereſt of a bold Undertaker, to do what the dull Miniſter he roſe upon, refuſed to do; and that was to iſſue a Commiſſion of Marſhal Law, and to injoin Suits againſt the Bankers; the former he diverted, but the latter he did half way, and then dropp'd it; the Occaſion will be touched. He was the notorious Author of the Stop of the *Exchequer*; and as Sir *William Temple* ſays, the Adviſer of the *Dutch* War. Who was fitter than he to ſupport, by his Authority in publick, the Councils he had given in private? And for that End was he taken in; and the Pinch of the whole Affair turned upon a favourable Acceptance in Parliament. He therefore of any Courtier, was moſt concerned to labour that Point with all the

the Efficacy and Invention he could; and ſo laying hard on in a Speech, to endeavour, if poſſible, to make the Money come eaſily.

It is certain he was at firſt the moſt towring Chancellor that ever preſs'd his Cuſhion; and he not only laboured with all his ſubtle Arts (tho' his Writs during the Prorogation turned upon him) to ſecure a Majority in the Houſe of Commons; but had wrought himſelf into a Belief that he ſhould prevail; in confidence of that, he inſulted all Sorts and Orders of Men under him; defyed the Officers of the Court, and Council, and their Forms; and would teach them, that a Man of Senſe was their Superior; nor did the Commons eſcape his Animadverſions; for he declared publickly, that he knew not by what Law or Reaſon they ſhould ſit and vote themſelves Privileges; and at his firſt going to *Weſtminſter-Hall*, a Cavalcade of all the Judges and Officers, a coloured Gown, and ribboned Pantaloons, made his Entry illuſtrious. Now let any one judge, if this ſneaking Character in which the Author hath dreſſed up his Lordſhip, hath any Coherence with the State of Affairs, or with the Court at that time, or any Shadow of Probability.

There is a farther Conſideration yet, which makes this new Light to be a mere *Will in the Wiſp*, that is, a Cheat: It is near thirty Years from the Time of Action before it was revealed; and in ſuch a Period of Time, Forgers begin to lye boldly; for they preſume there are no living Witneſſes to confute them; and if I am not miſtaken, that is the Caſe here; for all that were of that Council, or Cabinet at leaſt, where Matters of this Nature uſed to be conſidered, are gone; and Mr. *Locke* himſelf

P. 8. *(To whom his Lordſhip ſhewed a great Concern at this)*

is dead; and who that other Friend, who had the ſame Intimacy and Honour was,

*(Who hath ſince declared the ſame in Writing)*

doth not appear; but I gueſs he is dead alſo; becauſe the Author ſays, *ſince declared in Writing*; if he had been living, he would have told any one that had a mind to be ſatisfied; and for that End the Author ſhould have named him, as he might have done; for it is no dangerous buſineſs; but ſuch affected Darkneſs in his Authority, till he produces better, will argue he has none at all. I queſtion much, if the noble Earl himſelf were alive, and now amongſt us, whether the Author, or any one elſe durſt have reported this diminutive Behaviour, ſo unlike and unworthy a Lord High Chancellor of *England*; but rather think, that he would have reſented it as an Affront, and utterly diſclaimed it; but this Author for ſetting up a Whig-Hero, has debaſed a Miniſter of State down to a Scholaſtick Obedience: And he is miſtaken in the thing it ſelf alſo; for how doth it excuſe,

or rather doth it not make the Fault more injuſtifiable, that he did not do his Duty, according to his Principle and Conſcience? as might have been ſaid, if he had ſpoke his own Speech; but as a ſneaking Tool of a Party, he ſpoke directly againſt his Conſcience and Judgment, in the Matter and Form of that Speech.

Nor doth the critical Author bring him off by

*The Chancellor's being look'd upon as the Mouth of the King.*

And the Reſentment in *Holland* by ſuch as were

P. 9. *Ignorant of his Sentiments, and the Office of a Lord Chancellor.*

For he ſhews himſelf ignorant of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, in the moſt principal Inſtance of its Policy; elſe he could never have put forward ſuch a pitiful Subterfuge, or rather Shuffle as this is. We know that the Miniſters anſwer for all Actions in their ſeveral Employs; and no Royal Command will excuſe them, either for evil Counſel, or the leaſt Act againſt Law; and what the Chancellor ſays well, is his Maſters, and his own; but what is evil, is his own, and not his Maſters; and a Chancellor is never capable of excuſing himſelf in any unwarrantable Action, or Speech, upon the King's Command. I would ask any *Engliſh* Gentleman, if this Chancellor had been impeached for a high Crime and Miſdemeanor, for falſifying publickly the King's Aim and Purpoſes by the War with *Holland*, which was only to have Satisfaction made for Injuries already done to his Subjects, and to prevent the like for the future; and for declaring in his Majeſty's Name to the Parliament, that it was to deſtroy the States of the *United Provinces*, becauſe they were our Rivals in Trade; (for ſetting aſide the *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that is the Scope of the Speech) And the noble Peer ſhould, by Advice of Mr. *Le Clerc*, have come in with a whining Defence to this Article, that truly the Speech was againſt his Opinion; but it was brought ready made to the Council; and in ſpight of his Sentiment to the contrary, the words *Delenda, &c.* were put in; and he being commanded to ſpeak it, got it by heart, and with help of a Prompter made a ſhift to get thro' it: Would the Commons have taken this for an Excuſe, or not rather for an Aggravation of his Crime? and would not the Lords with Scorn, and Indignation of his Meanneſs have found him guilty? So ſhallow a Critick is this Man in *Engliſh* Affairs; and we may hope in God, he will never have means to be better inſtructed. But I would not have him go away in a Security, that altho' moſt of the living Witneſſes of this Tranſaction are dead, yet there is not *Teſtimonium rei* loud in oppoſition to him; and alſo ſome yet alive, that knew ſo much of the Characters of Men, and the Nature of the Matters upon the Stage in thoſe Days, as may with boldneſs affirm this Fact,

as

as he ſtates it, to be falſe; and invented, not for the Honour of that noble Peer, but for baſe and ſervile Purpoſes, ſuggeſted by a malevolent Party, then and yet raging amongſt us. It is deſired therefore, if he would clear himſelf of this Imputation, that he will either own his Miſtake, and court the publick Favour to excuſe him upon account of his biaſs, and human Infirmity; or elſe produce good and examinable Evidence of the Fact, which I gueſs no Man of Senſe will take upon his Word, or upon the Word of any one elſe from a poſthumous Hearſay: For we do not allow Heroick Stateſmen to be canonized, as Popiſh Saints, upon late collected Tradition and Tales.

But I am gone off from another Argument in view, little leſs than demonſtrative; and it is the neglect of uſing a Truth ſo important and apologetical, in all the long time when the Earl took the Poſt of heading the malcontent Party; and after his Carryings on had brought him to the *Tower*; and when he was urged capitally, by Indictments of High Treaſon: during all which time nothing was left undone and unſaid, that could be thought proper, true or falſe, to make him popular; for all the Pamphlets and Libels of that time made him Protector of the Proteſtant Religion, and Oppoſer of Tyranny and Arbitrary Power (almoſt in the very Words this Author hath borrowed of them) and declared him to be perſecuted for that and nothing elſe; pretended Plots againſt his Life were cried about the Streets; and it was ſaid, that thoſe failing, *Iriſh* Witneſſes were ſuborned to ſwear Treaſon againſt him; all which, with a world more of ſuch Dunghill-ſtuff, may be found in *The Appeal, Second Growth of Popery*, and the *Three no Proteſtant Plots*, and other of the Author's Originals of the ſame ſort, that infeſted thoſe Times. Now if the Earl's Party could have cleared him of the blot of this Speech, which ſtuck hardeſt upon him of any thing he ever did in his whole Life, as this Author has now ſo dexterouſly done, would they have forbore it? eſpecially when it would have transferr'd the Odium from him upon the Court, and have made a notable Article in the *Growth of Popery*; the marvellous Author of which, if it had been revealed to him, would have made the beſt on't: And if the Modeſty or Scruple of the Earl would not permit to ſet it about, others without, or againſt his leave, would have done it; for it muſt have been known to many, as well as to Mr. *Locke*, and that other Friend; for the Court, as I ſaid, had no Secrets; and the Earl himſelf was not Tongue-tied. Nay the *Compleat Hiſtorian*, of whom I ſhall make honourable mention, would have had it; and then not have owned, as he hath done, that it was an abominable Speech. But inſtead of any benefit taken of this moſt opportune Paſſage for the Purpoſes I have touched, *altum ſilentium*,

not

not an hiſs of it; but on the contrary, the wicked People, called Tories, were continually laying this *Delenda* in his Diſh; whoſe mouths might have been ſtopped, if this Author's Fox-tail had been extant; and conſequently the Lye muſt remain at his door, unleſs he can clear himſelf, as was before hinted. I cannot but ſeriouſly wonder, that an Author of Mr. *Le Clerc*'s Name, ſhould ally himſelf ſo cloſe to a malevolent Faction in another Country, and take and publiſh from them (if not invent, and lye ſpontaneouſly for them) ſuch Libellous Stuff, as I find in this Book. The very Extract and Stink of their Slanders are the Flowers of his Rhetorick: It were well if he would follow his Book, and let us alone; and not Doctor it in Matters, which he is ſo far from underſtanding, that even his Party-men here, for want of due Skill in Affairs, have fallen into prodigious Errors and Miſtakes in their Conduct; at leaſt it were to be wiſh'd, that he would not ſo conſtantly lick up whatſoever is nauſeous and depraved among us in Policy, Hiſtory, and Religion; and then vomit it back upon us again.

But to ſtep forward a little, what follows is matter of Deriſion, rather than of Confutation; for the Author ſays,

P. 9. — *But this noble Lord in a little time after (his being made Chancellor, and having made his Speech to the Parliament) perceiving the Mark the Court aimed at* ——

*Left the Court Party.*

Hiſtorian *Choisè*. Nothing is more notorious than that this noble Lord, when he was firſt made Lord Chancellor, was the moſt tranſcendent Prerogative man of the Age; and not only ſuggeſted, but acted in the moſt unwarrantable Steps then made; which I might largely ſhew, if I would enter into Particulars; thoſe touched, and well known to the Cotemporaries, ſhall ſuffice to juſtify the Remark: ſo far was he from being a Stranger to the Aims of the Court; he could not be ignorant of his own Thoughts, Advices, and Actions. But to ſhew by what means a Revolution of his Meaſures came about, I muſt remember, that at the Entrance of that Seſſion of Parliament, in 1672, his Lordſhip was marked out by the Country-Members to be impeached: In the firſt place, his Prorogation-Writs miſcarried, and his Trick-choſen Friends were all turned out; whereby the Country Party, inflamed againſt him, had an undoubted Majority; beſides that the King had given up his Declaration of Indulgence (from which by the Earl's Advice, as was preſumed, he had at firſt told them he would not depart) by which it appeared plainly, that there would not be a breach between the King and the Parliament upon his Account. Then his Lordſhip was inlightened; and even while he was Chancellor, he fell in with the Meaſures of the Antimonarchiſts; and

from

from a State of being impeach'd, he became their Favourite; and from thenceforth he kept his advanc'd Poſt in the Managery of all the Party-Concerns, and was cried up for a Bulwark againſt Popery, and a Preſerver of the Peoples Liberty and Property. This is what the Author calls, *perceiving the Aims of the Court*; and to ſerve his turn, he would have his Lordſhip paſs for an *Ignoramus*, who knew nothing till the Great Seal clear'd his Eye-ſight, and diſpelled the Miſts and Fogs, behind which the Court-Gunners lay in Ambuſcade.

Whether his Lordſhip's High-flying, as they call it, on the ſide of the Court, was only for the ſake of Advantages to be had that way; or elſe was owing to a ſecret Underſtanding with the moſt deſperate of the adverſe Party, as the hopefulleſt courſe to bring down the Monarch or Monarchy (for if the King in the midſt of a War broke with the Parliament, he muſt needs then take undue courſes to get Money, as his Father did; and purſuant to ſuch an hopeful beginning as ſtopping the Exchequer, be undone; and by that means the Earl appear uniform in all his Meaſures; for from this *Criſis*, he continued the ſame to the very laſt) which of theſe was the Caſe, it is impoſſible for either of us to determine; but there want not Colours to induce an Opinion either way; and ſo it is left to the free Arbitrament of Thought.

But the Jeſt is, according to this Author, the Earl had a Tutor too, the jolly Duke of *Bucks*. For he told him roundly, that

P. 9. — *Not only the Duke, but the King was a Papiſt.*

Which is ſillier than all the reſt; as if the Earl had not as great a Penetration as his Grace. The Earl was an acute obſerving Stateſman and Courtier; and was as much, if not more, in the way of obſerving, than the Duke was, or could be; for he was no Formalizer in his Morals, no more than his Grace, ſo as to be ſhut out of the free Converſation of the Court; and for Wit and Policy he was his Maſter. But yet to ſerve this Author's turn, he muſt be ſent to School to this noble *Railleur*, to learn the Marks which the Court aimed at, and what the King's Religion was. If this had been pretended at that time, it had been laugh'd at, as a Banter fit only for ſome Buffoon in a Coffee-houſe to rally a Country-*Put* with; and not taken for a Piece of ſerious Hiſtory, as this *Critical* Author makes it.

We know very well, that in thoſe Days, and for many Years after, when the Faction came to profeſs, as they did, a tremendous Oppoſition to the Crown, nothing was ſo rife and current in their mouths, as that the King was a Papiſt; and a certain Cacodemoniack of a *Compleat Hiſtorian* has lately dared to ſay the ſame in Print. And his Majeſty might the better bear it, becauſe all his Miniſters and Friends all over *England* were in the ſame Predicament; either Church-Papiſts, Papiſts

in Maſquerade, Popiſhly affected, or Adherents; as who will may ſee, that will look into the Libels in Print? If ſaying will make a Man an Horſe, very few would want a Steed upon occaſion. And it was moſt neceſſary for the Faction to put all upon that Point: For as to the Duke, they had the Ball at their Toe, and thought they might hamper the Succeſſion well enough; but that availed little, the Game would grow cold with keeping ſo long; they muſt keep it going, and draw the whole to bear upon the preſent, by Aſſociations, Regulations of Commiſſions, the Militia, *&c.* and ſo diveſt the King of all his Force, upon pretence of guarding the Proviſion about the Succeſſion, which might in time work rarely.

The Author and his Friends are miſtaken, if they think this Proceſs is ſo ſoon forgot; and how (like him) the Party was at a loſs, whether to let the King have any Religion at all, or no; or be really a Papiſt; and many that made him a Papiſt, yet would have him to have no Religion, which is hard: But the Author hath artificially reconciled that Difficulty, by bringing in the Duke of *Bucks* telling the Earl of *S.*

P. 9. *That the King being a Papiſt concealed it by ſetting up for a Wit, and appearing on all Occaſions indifferent as to Matters of Religion.*

This Scandal upon the King ſerved to depreciate him in the Peoples Opinion, as the Faction made full account; and for that End only, and to have the handle to put hard Meaſures upon his preſent Power, they induſtriouſly ventilated it abroad in all Coffee-houſes, Clubs, and Prints of that time. But yet they could never get the better of the King's Behaviour, which was regular, and conſtant to the Service and Sacraments of the Church; permitting the Laws to be executed in all the Rigor, as the Faction demanded; which they did, not that they liked Perſecution, but to expoſe the King, thinking he would out of good Nature refuſe them. This untoward Behaviour of the King was too hard for all their Calumny; and it was ſtrange to obſerve, what a degree of Confidence and Affection grew up between his Majeſty and the People in general, notwithſtanding the cankered Endeavours of his Enemies, as the Hiſtories of that time, if true, muſt clearly demonſtrate.

It is remarkable, that this Author ſhould be ſo weak in Truth, to ſet up thus as he doth, to be an Eccho of an old decrepit Faction amongſt us, and to vent their Fuſtian in Points and Tags at this rate; and that at this time of day, when there ſeems to be no uſe at all to be made of it, but only to gratify an Itch or Leproſy of Slander. When Power and Government lay upon the Table, it was worth while to plot, cabal, and defame, in hopes of what, in their factious Opinions, was to follow; but it is the loweſt Office of human Capacity, after the good things are gone, to do the Drudgery of cleaning away the Filth from thoſe

those that strove for them. And for ought I see that is the part this Author, and his Friend that other *Cacodemon* I mentioned, have undertaken; the latter, by spinning out a long continued Lye; and the former by Snatches and Scraps; as may be seen; if you take notice how carefully on every occasion he lards In the Cant of the Faction, *viz.* Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power. I must confess I cannot reconcile the Proceeding to common Sense; unless we will imagine, they have some Reserve in their minds of playing over the old Game again; and therefore must authenticate the Examples of such past and exploded Practices. But enough of this.

Before I go farther, I must observe the Author's Mistake, in making the godly D. of *B.* Tutor to the E. of *S.* For in truth they were Fellows and Companions in the Headship of the sober Party. They were together in the Project of dissolving the Parliament by Mob-Law; and went lovingly to the Tower, being committed by the House of Lords for it. But the D. submitted first, and got out; the other stayed longer, and made the utmost proof of the Experiment; but recanted also at last. They joined in becoming Citizens; the Earl had a great House in *Aldersgate-street*, the Duke had one at *Sion hill*, for the more Security of their Trade, and Convenience of driving it among the *Londoners*; so that in Rallery they were called Alderman *S.* and Alderman *B.* but the latter had so many Callings in other Places, he could not stick to his business in the City; and neglected his Ward, which was a great hindrance to Projection. Observe then the Art of this Critick in framing a Piece of History. A Banter of the D. of *B.* who seldom spoke seriously, opened the Eyes of the subtle and politick E. of *S.* who before that was ignorant, that the King in the shape of a Wit, and a Latitudinarian, was a Papist (which by the way is a shrewd Reflection upon the Men of Wit and Latitude:) and on the other side, Sir *William Temple*, a serious and grave Writer, never suspected of falsifying matters of Fact, imployed in the State, and intimate with the Court, writing that the Earl was a main Cause of the *Dutch* War, must have no Authority at all; but it seems the Earl obstructed his Present of Plate (forsooth) therefore he fell to lying and slandering of the said Earl most abominably, as the Author injuriously charges that honourable Gentleman. Is not this pure Extract and rectified Spirit of History: And indeed the Author is to be commended here, because he names his Authors and Authorities; for we are thereby enabled to judge of their Value, and of his Honesty.

The Author tells us,

P. 9. — *He left the Court-Party, who in vain tried all means to keep him in their Party.*

We should gladly have known when, where, and by whom these means were used so unsuccessfuly; what Preferments were offered, or what

Summs of Money ready to buy him off: they must surely bid high; for one turned out of so great a Post, must needs be affronted, and not reconcile easily. No, but the Case was desperate, for

Ib. *He had so great an Aversion to Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Government,*——

There's the *Crambe* of the Faction, the pretty Characters of an ancient and legal Government in *England*, without giving an Instance of the least Abuse in it, so as one may judge of the Truth of his Insinuations.

— *That tho' in other things he was very moderate* ——

There's another *Crambe*: doth he mean in Wine, Women, or Honesty? or in what other things was he so moderate? I'm sure it was not in his Party-Proceedings; there he was zealous enough.

— *There was no moving him in these respects.*

So here the Interpreter is come: We were at a loss to know what it was to be of the Court-Party, to which the Earl, if it might be done, was to be purchas'd at any rate; and now we find it was to join in the establishing of Popery, Tyranny, and arbitrary Power, which are couched in that elegant Expression, of being *moved in those respects.* I desire to know, if it is possible to frame a more scandalous Libel than this. Then he adds,

—*This is well known to all those, who had the Honour of being acquainted with him, or who have had his Character from them.*

This must all relate to *Holland*, and the Conversation there, when he was an illustrious Refugié: For little of it is to be found here; for if one may guess by the behaviour of the Party that pretended to act under his Influence and Advice, there is room to suspect, he was not so irreconcileable to arbitrary Power, provided it were in himself, or his Friends. We will not look back so far as the Seal: but after he had, as the Author says, returned that to the King, I may affirm, there never was a Set of Men so unreasonable, outrageous, and immoderate, in moving things against Law, and common Sense, as that Faction was; of which multitudes of Instances may be given; but a few for a taste; dissolving the Parliament by Mob-Law; imprisoning Magistrates and Freemen by Shoals, on pretence of abhorring, miscalled breach of Privilege; the long-laboured Engine, called *Ignoramus*, for stopping all Law against State-Criminals; denying the Power of the Crown to pardon Persons impeach'd, *cum multis aliis.* I do but point at a few Peccadillo's, for demonstration of the Justice, Moderation, and Equity of that Faction, which perhaps may have been confirmed by some later Emergencies; and I durst answer, it will be found ever the same.

This Concern of a foreign Writer in taking part against our settled Government and Constitution, almost tempts me to a breach of Charity, when I reflect upon the behaviour of the whole Hugonot-race and Name. One would think they should praise the Bridge they go over; and if not

for

for Opinion, yet for Gratitude and Humanity, forbear ſiding with thoſe Men, who ever were, are ſtill, and are likely to continue in a perpetual War againſt the eſtabliſh'd Church and Monarchy, and that with remarkable ſpight to the Royal Family. If any of them hears K. *Charles* the 1ſt well ſpoken of, it puts them under a chagrin; and calling him Martyr, puts them paſt all Patience. Archbiſhop *Laud* is with them no better than a Devil; K. *Charles* the 2d a Papiſt, and Tyrant, tho' a ſingular good Friend and Cheriſher of them; with ſuch like fanatical Illuſions that poſſeſs them; and ſo far as we have indulged them to act amongſt us, if there be Whig and Tory, we know where to find them to a Man: All which Conduct of theirs, is as far from true Primitive Chriſtianity, and Modeſty, as Heatheniſm is from Chriſtianity: It would be well therefore if they would mend their Manners, and learn to live leſs pragmatically under a Government, which ever protected, relieved, and never hurt them, leſt the Charity here ſhould be repented of, and the Uſage of them at home be thought but their due.

But we have not done with the Author yet.

P. 10. *The E. of* S. *being reconciled to the Court (out of an honeſt Deſign of being as uſeful as he could to his Country) was made Lord Preſident of the Council in* 1679.

A careful Parentheſis. He has not ſaid in any one place the Certainty of any Facts the Earl deſigned; but only in general, to oppoſe Popery, *&c.* leaving the reſt to ill-natured Conſtruction. So that all he ſays, has not the leaſt of juſt Information in it, either of the State of the Publick, while he was concerned with it; or of the Actions of the Earl himſelf, by which he might be underſtood. But only that the Court was bad, and he was good; the Court Popiſh, and Tyrannous, and he a Proteſtant, and a Protector of Liberty: The Court drave on to eſtabliſh the ruin of the Proteſtant Religion, and the Laws; but he oppoſed; and that was all he had to anſwer for, altho' proſecuted as a Martyr for his Country. In this manner, tho' perhaps in fewer words, he ſets us forth; which Method if tolerated, puts it in the Power of an Hiſtorian to make black white, and white black; to corrupt the Evidence of paſt Times and Examples; and render Hiſtory, that ſhould be diſtinct and wholeſom to future Times, obſcure and venomous. If it be ſaid he deſigned not an Hiſtory of that time; what made him ſo maliciouſly cenſure the time? His Deſign, the Life of Mr. *Locke*, did not lead him to that; he might have mentioned his Relation and Dependance on the Earl, without libelling the King, the Council, and the whole Miniſtry. But that is enough to ſhew, if he did not deſign Hiſtory, he was fully bent upon Slander; and therefore gave us only his falſe concluſion, without any Premiſſes, either true or falſe. The reſt is Categorical.

P. 10. *Having again taken his place at the Council for the Good of the*

Engliſh *Nation, rather than to carry on the Deſigns of the Court, which aimed at the Eſtabliſhment of Popery and arbitrary Power.*

Careſully expreſs'd again. There is a great Latitude in that Phraſe,—*for the good of the* Engliſh *Nation*; for if he had made himſelf Lord Protetector, many had ſuch an Opinion of him, as to think That had been ſo; and not a few accounted ſubverting the *Engliſh* Monarchy, and ſetting up new fangled Governments no worſe. So what do we get by this Character of a Stateſman's Purpoſes? Fallacies lie in Generals, and an Author of Logick ſhould not be ſo groſly guilty. But you hear again what the Deſigns of the Court were, which from his Pen, without any particularizing, is enough. But that a Child of the Noon day Father, I mean a ſcandalous Lye, may not paſs by ſo cleverly, I muſt for Truth's ſake remember, that in that time alluded to here, and from the eſtabliſhing the Teſt Laws, during the King's Life, it was moſt notorious, that all the Miniſters of the Crown, Judges, and Soldiers in Commiſſion were Proteſtants, and conformable in Eccleſiaſticals, as well as Temporals, to the known Laws of the Land; not one ſingle Papiſt to be found amongſt them; the Fence-laws of the Teſts exactly obſerved, which made it impoſſible to be otherwiſe; for thoſe incontroulably excluded Papiſts from all Poſts of Profit, Truſt, or Authority under the Crown: And in the general, if ever the Law was the Rule of a Government, it was then; little being attempted to the contrary, if any thing at all; and that of no duration or effect. The Miniſters of the State and Juſtice were generally Men able, and that lived well, and were greatly eſteemed in the Nation; nor was any Protection or Screen from the Court had againſt the Parliamentary Accuſations, or Proceedings againſt any of them; but ſuch had all their free courſe, as far as they would bear. And finally, in the Reign of K. *William* an Inquiſition came over theſe Miniſters and Magiſtrates, with all the Fury and Prejudice imaginable; and no fault could be found in their Miniſtration, even by their enraged and uncontrouled Enemies: and yet this ſquinting *Critick* can ſay, the Deſigns of this Court were to ſettle Popery and arbitrary Power; which ſcandalous Declaration here among us had merited no better Reward from the Juſtice of the Nation, than a publick Stage and wooden Caſement. Then follows

P. 9. *Freſh Crimes were ſoon laid to his Charge.*

They were ready cut and dried, and then might ſoon be applied. The Sting here is in this word *ſoon*; which inſinuates that the word was given out, *Conclamatum eſt*, he muſt right or wrong be charged, and then the dreſs'd up Accuſation ſoon came on. This is exactly the Libel-ſtrain of that time.

P. 10. *And thereupon the King ſent him to the Tower.*

That is upon direct Evidence againſt him, ſworn by divers competent Witneſſes, by regular Warrant, grounded on that Charge, he was committed,

committed. The Author perhaps doth not know the ſtrictneſs of Commitments in *England*, which are not made without Warrant, and that by a proper Magiſtrate (as by Order of Council when the Examination is there) expreſſing the Offence; and there is always Teſtimony upon Oath taken in writing, before the Warrant iſſues. But he would have us think, upon a looſe Charge, the King committed him by his immediate Authority, ſuch being his Royal Will and Pleaſure; which he uſeth not to do, nor was it ſo done in this caſe.

P. 10. *But he was acquitted, in ſpight of the Intriegues of the Court.* Theſe Intriegues, you muſt know, are only Subornation and Perjury in the Proſecution. That's the Subſtance: As for the Form, it is ſtrange a foreign *Critick* ſhould write ſo roundly of *Engliſh* Forms, and underſtand ſo little of them. He could not be acquitted, becauſe he never was tried; nor could he be tried, becauſe the Indictment preferred and proved againſt him, was moſt perjuriouſly rejected. Now where is the Intriegue of the Court? The Attorney-General proſecutes publickly, and in the face and hearing of multitudes preſent, proves his Charge: the corrupt Grand Jury, a ſelect Company of the ſame Party with the Accuſed, conſult privately, and reject the Charge: ſure the Intriegue was amongſt them, and not on the part of an open Proſecution.

The Libel here is dreſs'd in few words, but very pregnant, and ſuch as give ſcope to a malicious Imagination, to ſuppoſe all the Villany in the World. But it will not be diſſolved in ſo ſmall a compaſs, to the underſtanding of Strangers to our Forms; who from this Account will have no other *Idea*, than the Author, by the words Intriegues of the Court, deſigns to excite, that is, direct Subornation and Perjury; therefore I think it not amiſs to declare the true Intriegue in as few words as I can.

By the Law of *England* no Man is put to anſwer, or plead at Peril of his Life, before a grand Jury hath allowed the Indictment; which is an Inqueſt, not of the Merits of the Cauſe; for that is to be examined upon hearing of both ſides, Proſecutor and Defendant; but of the Accuſation, upon hearing only what the Proſecutor hath to ſay and prove: and if there be a legal Evidence, tho' perhaps of doubtful Credit, whereby it appears the Indictment is not without ground, the grand Inqueſt is bound by their Duty and Oaths to find the Bill, that is return upon it, *Billa vera*. But if upon Examination it appears, that there is not a legal Evidence of ſuch a Charge, then they return *Ignoramus*, and that is a full ſtop to the Proceeding; but no acquittal; for another Indictment may come in for the ſame Offence *toties quoties*, till *Billa vera* is returned; and then there is a thro' Canvaſs of the Fact before a petit Jury, and both ſides are fully heard: This is the Trial whereupon the Party is either found guilty, or acquitted; and after that

no Indictment farther can be preferred. This is the course of proceeding in capital Cases in *England*; whereby it appears, that if the Grand Inquest be corrupt, and will refuse to allow Indictments that have a regular Evidence to support them, they put a positive bar to the Course of Justice, break their Trust, and are wilfully perjured.

These Grand Inquests or Juries, are ordinarily chosen and returned by the Sheriffs; and those for *London* and *Middlesex*, are appointed by the Body of the City at an Assembly of the Corporation, which they call their Common Hall: That consists of the Livery-men of the Companies, which are an Order select for performing some sort of Duties, principally for Elections of Officers; and are supposed to be *de melioribus Civium*; who, together with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, act in the Common Hall, and are for those purposes the Body of the City. It hath appeared manifestly, that the Faction against the Crown in *England*, for whom this Author is of Council, under the Conduct of their noble Leaders, foreseeing what occasion there might be, have for many Years before these doings, gone on in a course of modelling the Livery into their Faction; and so by taking advantage of factious Magistrates, and Rulers of Companies, they have increased the Number of Livery-Companies, and strangely multiplied the Livery in each Company; whereby from a moderate reasonable Assembly of Citizens, as the Common Hall formerly was (and that it might be so the Livery was originally instituted) then it was become tumultuous, and far beyond the Capacity of the great Hall to receive. And by a designed Series of modelling and augmenting out of this Party, the Assembly took the same Complexion, and acted by factious Measures: And that was seen in nothing more than the choice of Sheriffs; for they came at length to be so bold and bare-fac'd, to appoint Sheriffs that return'd the Grand Juries out of the most profligate Confidents of the Party; who with all the Effrontery imaginable, against the Opinion of all the Magistracy above them, and against Duty and their Oaths, rejected all Indictments against their Partisans; and from the Form of their perverse Returns, were stigmatized by the infamous Name of *Ignoramus Juries*.

Upon this Scheme the Faction had built up an Impunity in Cases capital for their whole Party; for if they could not be accused in *London* and *Middlesex*, where the Seat of Government was (and for that they depended on their Friend *Ignoramus*) they were safe: behind this Retrenchment, they grew so confident and audacious in Treason and treasonable Practices and Speeches, as then would have made a Stranger think there was no Government at all. And the Party reaped the Fruit in divers Instances of this Security, which was effectual to them in screening their Friends from the ordinary Course of Justice; but in none more eminently, than in this Case of the Earl. Thus it continued, till a Restauration of

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the Authority of the Lord Mayor to influence the Appointment of one Sheriff, to be confirmed, and another to be elected by the Common Hall, according to ancient Solemnities and City Cuſtoms.

The King's Attorney-General being commanded to prefer an Indictment of High Treaſon againſt the Earl, and having Experience of the behaviour of the grand Inqueſts, and not doubting but to meet with the like in this Caſe, thought fit to inſiſt, that his Evidence might be given in the publick Court, and not in a Chamber, as ordinary Matters paſs; to the end that the Court might aid the Examination, and ſee that it was free and fairly done; and the Aſſembly, which was extraordinary great, might judge whether his Evidence came up to the Charge, which was all to be inquired of, or not. This was ſtiffly oppoſed by the Grand Jurymen; but yet ordered, and accordingly done; and they had full liberty to examine in publick, and to conſult in private: And after divers Witneſſes, as ſtrictly examined as at a Trial, a treaſonable Aſſociation, and Liſt of *Men worthy*, and *worthy Men* (*Innuendo* the former to be hanged) and other Papers found in the Earl's Cloſet produced and read; yet the Reſult was *Ignoramus*. It is not to be conceived with what deteſtation this Return was received by the Court and the Audience (not of the Faction) and not only there, but abroad: For I do not know that any Action of a ſingle Man, or number of Men in a Court of Juſtice, ever ſtank ſo in the publick Noſtrils, or flew abroad, and diſpers'd it ſelf in Rumor all over *England* with more Infamy and Abhorrence than that did; which is well known to all that lived, and obſerved any thing during the ſhort Reign of *Ignoramus*.

Here is a juſt and true Account of theſe Intriegues, ſo particular, as who will may diſprove the Relation if they can; and not after the way of pure *Mal dire*, a Sentence to ſting, and no Fact either to make it ſenſible, or warrantable, a Rhetorick fitter for *Billingſgate* than Hiſtory: To which competent Court of Judicature we refer the Author, for his Approbation and Reward. In the mean time I deſire to know of him, whether in his Country good Actions or bad ones, ſuch as he calls Intriegues, ſhun the Light. In this caſe the Crown-ſide demanded the Light, and an univerſal Inſpection of the Proceeding; the other Party held ſtrongly to deal in the dark, without Obſervation or Witneſs: Then where lay the Intriegue in all this? If any, ſurely it was on the Faction's, and not on the Court-ſide; elſe it was not juſtly ſpoken of ſome, that they ſought Darkneſs rather than Light, becauſe their Deeds were evil.

I have not here entered upon the Merits of the Evidence, nor ſtated the Proceedings of the City at large; which are a Subject of greater Extent in Hiſtory than this place requires; and who will may have Satisfaction from the publick Prints about that time, which ſet the whole matter forth in full ſtrength on either ſide. Here is enough to confute

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and ſhew the Sycophancy of this Author: and I am ſorry it is ſo much; becauſe it may ſeem impertinent; ſince the Cauſe may be thought now ſcarce to deſerve ſuch a ſort of Anſwer; it being ſufficient to a petulant Allegation, to return a poſitive Negation. But I was willing to be clear; and I thought leſs would not do: and if this doth not come up to the Author's, or his Friend's Fancy, who may think I ſay too little, as well as not clear enough, it's poſſible ſome other Pen may at full length give them ſatisfaction.

But we have not done yet.

P. 10. *In* December 1682. *he retir'd into* Holland.

Any one who reads this, would think that this retiring was from the fright of this Proſecution, and leſt other falſe Charges ſhould be brought againſt him; and that nothing particular and new had intervened to alter the State of Affairs, as to his Lordſhip's Caſe; but there were two Conſiderations that made it very prudent for him to retire: For 1. the Office of Sheriff was taken out of the Hands of the Faction, and no dependance upon *Ignoramus* left; whereupon the ſame Indictment that was before rejected, might be again preferred againſt him. But that is not all: that Winter there was a bloody Conſpiracy formed, in which the whole factious Party, more or leſs were concerned; ſome in an higher degree, by way of *Ravilliac*, to blunderbuſs the King and Duke both at once, paſſing by *Rye-houſe*; others more moderate, only to ſecure the King's Perſon, and his Guards, to keep them from doing hurt; that Reformation might go on in a Parliamentary way without diſturbance; and others, who perhaps were but the Rabble of the Party, leſs fit to be truſted, who acted by Inſtruction ſo far as they were thought fit to be imployed; and that was ordinarily on all occaſions to tumultuate, and in general to expect ſome great Matters to be done, tho' they know not what. But it is certain, that Winter all theſe Trades were going on together; and how far the Earl was guilty, or not, I will not ſay, but refer to the Prints; that is, the King's Declaration, the Trials, and the Account with the original Informations, publiſhed by the Biſhop of *Rocheſter*; and as to the firſt of theſe, I may ſay boldly, that a publick Manifeſto of a Crowned Head or State, in my Obſervation, hath not advanced in affirmation to the univerſality of the People Matters of Fact, that were either falſe in themſelves, or wanted regular Proofs to ſupport them. This noble Earl conſidered, that a Conſpiracy ſo broad as this was, and managed looſely, as if it were to divert Clubs and private Dinners, and not executed as ſoon as thought, as true Policy required, would certainly be diſcovered; and ſo ſhewed his Wiſdom by retiring, which the Event demonſtrated; for in *July* after the whole Conſpiracy was diſcovered, not by politick Steps and Piece meal, as others had been, but all at once; which brought on the Trials, Executions, and Confeſſions, that are no

Secrets;

Secrets; and if his Lordſhip had been in *England*, he had been in ſome Danger alſo. I have but touched theſe Matters; and I thought it needful ſo far to ſhew, how the Author leaps over Hedge and Ditch to compaſs a Slander.

Ib. *K.* William, *then P. of* O. *knew that his only Crime was, that he oppoſed the Deſigns of the Court.*

The Author makes very bold with K. *William*'s Intelligence at that time, to ſuppoſe that he was ignorant of ſuch poſitive Facts, as appear'd broad and above-board in proof, whilſt his Concerns lay ſo deep in *England*. And I think he doth the Memory of that Prince no Honour, to ſuppoſe them two ſo well acquainted, that the Prince muſt either know all his Actions, and Behaviour, or think there was no Crime in any thing that had been done, but only croſſing the Court. What was the true Cauſe of the Favour the Earl found in *Holland*, was beſt known to thoſe that ſhewed him Favour; and ſo we go on to the next Obſervation.

P. 11. — *Honour to this Province, and* Amſterdam *in particular, that it entertained and protected ſo illuſtrious a Refugie.*

We will allow him his Partiality, and Praiſes of his Country; but it is not to be forgot, that where that hath harboured and protected ſome, another Country, called *England*, and particularly the City of *London*, hath not only done that, but ſupported and relieved many more; and ſuch as did not flee for Treaſon againſt the Eſtate, but for their Religion; and continues to do the ſame ſtill, tho' the Encouragement to it, from the Behaviour of either the obſcure, or the illuſtrious Refugiés is not great; and it would become the Author in his next ſcribling Fit about *Engliſh* Affairs, to do us a little Juſtice in this matter.

But as for his illuſtrious Refugié, he may not perhaps know, ſuppoſing Innocence, how little need a Peer of *England* hath to fly his Country for Refuge, having one at home, that againſt all the Malice of the Government, if never ſo fierce, would protect him, and that is Trial by Peers. For in this Particular of Trials, the Peers of *England* are an Ariſtocracy, and have the ſole Judicature of each other in Capitals; and if a Peer be not thought guilty by them, he is ſafe, let the Court urge what they will. And how extreme nice and careful they are of their Juſtice, I need not ſay; it is notorious: therefore what Reaſon an *Engliſh* Peer hath to fly, except conſciouſneſs of Guilt, I cannot underſtand.

The next Figure is an Ejaculation,

P. 11. — *May this Town ever remain a ſafe Sanctuary to the Innocent, and by its generous Carriage draw down upon it ſelf the Praiſes and Bleſſings of all thoſe, who are Lovers of Vertue, not only in its Proſperity, but even when it ſuffers the ſharpeſt Perſecution.*

I know ſome Corporations would have given him a large ſhare of Cuſtard for this; and as well worth it, I ſhould have added no Allay, if

in the whole Tenor and Design of it, there were not bitter Invective and Libel against the Government of *England* in the Case of the E. of *S.* and all founded upon manifest Ignorance and Untruths, and aggravated with the Malice of the Father of them. He doth not reflect how this Eulogy may be retorted upon him, as

May that great Town never be a Sanctuary to guilty Persons, and by a factious Carriage draw down upon it self the Detestation and Curses of those who are Lovers of Peace; not only when it is profitable for themselves, but even when they shall suffer by advancing it in Neighbour-Kingdoms

I think this as charitable and well grounded a Prayer, and leans on as much Truth as his. He sees how cheap words, good or bad are; one may find, and bestow 'em at pleasure; they flow after Prejudice; but Facts and real Testimony are not so much at his Service.

But letting Rhetorick alone, I do not see where lies the Honour in protecting Fugitives, contrary to national Stipulation; it is alike on both sides; and honest Men use to stand to their word, tho' it be to their loss; or at least do as they would have been done unto: and I guess some amongst them would have taken it ill, if *De Witt* had been a Refugié from their Justice into *England*, and been made an Alderman of *London*, on purpose that they might not demand him. For if the State here had answer'd, that the City-Privilege had obstructed his Delivery, they would have said it had been a scandalous Trick, and a Breach of the National Treaty; but I never heard the Earl was so much as demanded.

As for the rest of his Pamphlet (for it is no better) and his other Writings of *English* Affairs, I hope a better Pen will inform you of their Justice and Veracity; for they are out of my way to censure; you will give me leave here only to add, that *Le Clerc* in one Passage has delivered up his Philosopher to Infamy. For he says,

P. 8. *That he gave Assistance to some Pieces, his Lordship publish'd to stir up the* English *Nation*, &c.

Unless he had said what those Pieces were, we are left at liberty to recur to such Libels, as then flew about in Print, which are little becoming a Philosopher. I wish the Author had some Friend to advise him, whenever he writes of a foreign Country, never to take Parties, and transcribe or epitomize Libels, and make them yet worse by his own malicious manner of representing the most scandalous Passages in them; nor take Instructions from Rebels and Fugitives, as here is done; for *F---* may be smelt, who is as rank as a Polecat, in all that is said here of *England*. I am,

SIR,

Your humble Servant.

*FINIS.*